# ENGLAND'S GREAT INTEREST in the VVell Planting of IRELAND with Engliſh People, DISCUSSED.

VVherein is briefly Stated the Benefits that will ariſe thereby, *viz.*

- Firſt, To England it ſelf,
- Secondly, To the Engliſh People in IRELAND.
- Thirdly, To the Iriſh themſelves.
- Fourthly, Some Rules propoſed in order to the practicing of it.
- Fifthly, Some Objections againſt the work, anſwered.

*By R. L. a member of the Army in Ireland.*

DUBLIN
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# To his Excellencie,

## the L. HENRY CROMWEL,
### Commander in chief of the Forces in *IRELAND*.

*MY LORD*

THe *enſuing Diſcourſe was onely intended as a remembrancer to our pretious Lord Deputy, leaſt his preſent abſence from us, and great employments in* England, *ſhould divert his mind from the great Work of ſettling* Ireland; *which God had formerly much ſet upon his heart, and ſo far ſatisfied him in the way hereby propoſed, as to put him upon ſome hopeful beginnings thereof; but ſince receiving encouragement from Your Lordſhip to publiſh it in* Ireland, *I take the boldneſs to preſent it to Your view and conſideration, with this one additional Argument (to the Diſcourſe it ſelf,) for the practice of it,* viz. *That it will give*

*visible Security unto Your Fathers glorious and successful Beginnings, and Your Brother* IRETON's *painful and dearly obtained Finishings of the Work of War, with Your Brother* FLEETWOOD's *wise and hopeful Proceedings in the Work of Settlement; without which, or something proportionable thereunto, it is evident that a few years will produce this Detraction from their unparalel'd performances, That it will be said of them in after ages,* They conquered much, but secured little. *Which diminishment of the future Fame of their honorable Atchievements I had rather should befall them from the slackness of another hand than your Lordships, who is so great a sharer in their gain or loss. I shall commit the consideration of the whole to Your Lordship, & remain*

*Your faithful Servant,*

*R. L.*

# ENGLAND'S Great Intereſt

## IN THE Well Planting of IRELAND with Engliſh People, DISCUSSED.

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¶ VVherein is briefly held forth, Firſt the Benefits that will ariſe to ENGLAND it ſelf thereby, *viz.*

First,

SEcurity and peace; England having been hetherto a great ſufferer by Iriſh invaſions, the Iriſh being ſo near unto them, and retaining a ſettled prejudice againſt that Nation, have been upon all occaſions ready to embrace any invitation or opportunity to make incurſions

upon them, as by many antient and later Precedents, recorded in the hiſtories of *Ireland* is evident; beſides that which happened in the late VVar by thoſe Regiments of Iriſh landed in England and Wales, to the aſſiſtance of the late King, whoſe inhumane cruelties towards the poor Engliſh people whereſoever they came, are yet freſh upon the memory of the Weſtern parts of England, where the moſt of their barbarous actions were committed; which this way of Plantation propoſed, would evidently ſecure England from for the future.

Secondly, As it thus would be of great Benefit to England in point of Security, and peace at home from Iriſh invaſions: So it would be of great uſe in affording ſupplies of men to aſſiſt England, in the defence of it ſelf againſt forrein attempts; for that people who are dangerous by their near neighborhood, being enemies, will be helpful being friends; the ſame opportunities that further the former, affording the later, when the diſpoſition and intereſt of the people ſo neighboring, is changed on the other hand.

Thirdly, It would be beneficial to England in the like aſſiſtance in any forrein VVar, —— as with France, Spain, or any other Southerly or VVeſtern Countries to England and *Ireland*, the Southweſt parts of Ireland lying more large for conveniencie of winds, to any part of thoſe Countries Southward or Weſtward of France, than any part of England doth; in which there are the greateſt plentie of ſafe and gallant Harbors for Shipping to ride in, that is judged to be in the like ſpace of ground in

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Europ. And it may be obſerved, the Kings of England (as Edward the Firſt, Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth) in their Wars with France, had conſiderable ſupplies from thence; which might have been much more, and with greater ſafety to their intereſt in Ireland, if the Engliſh Plantation there had been more intire and conſiderable.

Fourthly, It would be an effectual means to eaſe England of thoſe great expences of people and treaſure, that Ireland hath been from time to time draining from it, by all its ſeveral Rebellions; for by making the Engliſh people an intereſt in Ireland equal or more conſiderable than the Iriſh, they would be thereby equally able to raiſe mony to ſuppreſs them, as the other could be to rebell; and adding thereto the advantages they would have more than the Iriſh, by their ſtrong holds amongſt them, and frontiers againſt them, there would be no probabilitie of any future Rebellion.

Fifthly, The inlargement of the Engliſh Nation ſo near it ſelf, would add much to its ſtrength, riches, and reputation, much more than the Weſt-Indian Plantations, who cannot either give ſuccor to their native Countrie in its need, or receive it from thence without ſuch difficulty and charge as is unſupportable.

Sixthly, It may be (as the Plantation may be ordered) a receptacle and nurſery for all ſupernumerous and burthenſom people, that England ſhall have from time to time, being as an empty prepared hive to receive its ſwarms. For if there were ſo conſiderable a well planted Country of Engliſh in Ireland,

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all persons in England unsettled or unprovided of Farms or services, would readily repair into Ireland, in order to their preferment; whereas formerly through the promiscuousness of the Plantation, with the cheapness of Irish servants, and beneficialness of Irish tenants above English, as to present profit: few English, under tenants, labourers, or servants, could ever find encouragement to come over. But if this way of it self should not prove considerable in this work, yet there might be ways found, both to publick and particular advantage, to interess all or most of the Counties in England (especially the Western parts) in several Counties of Ireland, lying most convenient and contiguous to them; as the Citie of London is interessed in Londonderry, or as several Adventurers in England are interessed in the West-Indian Plantations; which would not onely if it be well managed prove an increasing revenue towards the maintaining their poor, and defraying other publick charges; but might also be, as aboveſaid, a publick receptacle to receive and employ all the supernumerous and burthensom people, that were able to labor, from the charge and incumbrance of each respective Countie so undertaking, in which Plantations not onely husbandry and improvements of land might be carried on: but several other beneficial manufactures as might be most suitable to the people thus removing, and best agreeing with the conditions and advantages of the Countie in Ireland, into which they were removed.

Seventhly, It will farther be, if not the onely, yet the chief and most probable means to preserve the present

preſent intereſt England hath ſo dearly obtained in Ireland; and to gain ground upon the Iriſh intereſt there, which for want thereof, hath been after all former Settlements, gaining ground of, and wearying out the Engliſh; that from the very day upon which peace hath been concluded, and the affairs of Ireland ſettled betwixt the Engliſh and the Iriſh, the Iriſh have grown ſtronger and ſtronger, and the Engliſh weaker and weaker, whereby the Engliſh intereſts have uſually in a few years become ſo contemptible, and the Iriſh ſo conſiderable, that they have been encouraged from time to time to rebell. Which ſuch a Plantation of Engliſh, as is here propoſed, would evidently prevent, and give the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland the ſame advantages the Iriſh have hetherto had, and reduce the Iriſh to thoſe disabilities which formerly the Engliſh have lien under.

*Quer.* What are thoſe ſpecial advantages the Iriſh have had above the Engliſh formerly?

*Anſ.* They have been able to lay the foundation of a War, and propoſe a competent proviſion for the carrying on thereof, as to men and money, which are the principals, without relying upon the hazards of forrein ſupplies and aſſiſtance; which was evidenced in the late Ten years War, maintained by them againſt England; in which they raiſed and maintained ſeveral conſiderable Armies, which in an ordinary way (had not there been the juſt ſentence of deſtruction from the righteous God againſt them for their bloudy cruelties, and other horrid impieties) might have utterly eradicated the Engliſh Intereſt out of Ireland, and have ſecured it ſelf againſt them;

wherein on the other hand, the English were in no capacitie to provide for their own defence, much less for the suppressing of their adversaries. For though they were a considerable number of persons and several of them of considerable interests and estates; yet through their promiscuous and scattered habitation amongst the Irish, they were not able to to raise any considerable Forces, or supply them when raised without present assistance and relief from England: that the enemie within the first six months of the War, murthered the people and destroyed the Countrie within a few Miles of Dublin, and within a few days to the gates of most other towns in Ireland, that the estates and persons of the English people in Ireland were so far from being useful to preserve and defend themselves, that they were the greatest encouragement to invite the Irish to destroy them, and became the chief bank by which the Irish were enabled to begin, and for a considerable time to carry on their War, that it had been better for England there had not been an Englishman of an estate in Ireland, for then England had been so much richer, and Ireland so much poorer. And it is easily foreseen, that all the people and estates England shall now part with, into Ireland, to plant there, will prove within a few years another booty to invite the Irish to a new Rebellion, and lay open the English to a new destruction, without the remedy proposed, by a considerable intire English Plantation: several other lesser advantages the Irish had, might be minded, as their more general and better knowledg of the Countrie, especially the fastnesses

nesses in all Countries, with their more generall interest in, and influence over the people, by which they obtained better guides and intelligence with certainer supplies of provision and carriage, &c. which I must omit for brevity sake.

And Secondly, as it would produce the foregoing Benefits, and several others that might be minded, to the English nation and people in England: So would it afford many special Benefits to the English interest and people in Ireland.

First, As to their safety both to their persons and estates, which at present (and for the future, if the former promiscuous confused way of planting Ireland with English, be continued) is in great danger, being at the unmerciful mercie of the Irish, no person being able to assure himself one nights safety, except such as live in strong Castles, and those well garded, and they very liable to surprize too. As the several horrid and barbarous murthers committed lately in the Counties of *Co k*, *Wexford*, *Kildare*, and *Carlo*, &c. (Besides the experience of former times doth evidence) of which number, One Gentleman living in a strong Castle, and sitting by the fire with his wife and familie in the evening, heard some persons, whose voice he knew, call him by name to come to his gate to speak with him, the poor Gentleman supposing no danger in a Country where no enemie was heard of, presently went to the dore, and was there murthered, where he was taken up dead off the place. Another of them walking in his grounds in the day time, about his business, was

there found murthered, & to this day it could never be learn'd who committed either of them; nor many other of the like nature, there being no Tories heard of in the Country there abouts, onely the Country generally inhabited with Irish in Protection: So that it is rationally concluded that these dayly murthers are committed by the protected people of the Country; and when these horrid murthers and other outrages are done, the poor English that do escape know not what means to use to pursue or enquire after them; for it's like there may not be another English neighbor within 3 or 4 miles of them, sometimes more. And it's probable they are also strangers in the Country, and knows not what to say to him, and for his Irish neighbors, it's like he may not have one near him that can speak English, and if he have an Hue and Cry (or *Hull-a-loo* as they call it) be set up they will be sure to send it the wrong way, or at least defer it untill the offender be far enough out of reach, and not unlike but the persons that seem busiest in the pursuit may be them that did the mischief, as in several cases have been afterwards found out. And then, besides the danger of their present living, there is the eminent danger that they and their posterity are in of future Insurrections and Rebellions, wherein all their labors and improvements lie visibly open to utter ruine, as in the last War was sadly demonstrated. So that this being the present dangerous condition of the English planting Ireland in this promiscuous scattered way: the Plantation proposed, doth visibly provide against it.

For if the English live in considerable intire Plan-

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tations together, they would not be onely able to ſecure themſelves and Country from general inſurrections and invaſions: (as is clearly demonſtrated in my late Book intituled, *The Intereſt of England in the Iriſh Tranſplantation, ſtated.*) But alſo to preſerve themſelves from the particular murthers and robberies before mentioned.

Firſt, By maintaining orderly Watches and Wards by Engliſh perſons, in all convenient paſſes and places which hetherto have been either wholly neglected, or kept by Iriſh, from whom the Engliſh have found little ſafety either to their perſons or goods; but on the contrary they are ofttimes the moſt idle vagabond perſons in the Country, ſuch as love not to work, and will ſerve the laboring country man for leaſt wages, and gain to themſelves a livelihood by correſpondencie and compliance with the perſons againſt whom they are employed.

Secondly, They be hereby in a capacitie to exerciſe arms by way of Train-bands and Auxiliaries in their own defence, whereas in this ſcattered promiſcuous condition in which they now live they are no ways able ſo to do, being not able to ſupport the charge of travelling ſuch journeys, to exerciſe or to meet at a Rendezvouz in any caſe of danger, without asking their adverſaries leave; and when met would be ſo inconſiderable, that their adverſaries would laugh them to ſcorn.

Thirdly, In ſuch caſes where frontier Garriſons are wanting, or at too great diſtance placed, they might at very ſmall charge keep Countie or more general Watches upon their Frontiers or chief paſſes,

to be supplied after the manner of the Beacon Watches in England, which would also afford them much securitie against Thieves and Robbers in times of Peace.

Fourthly, In case of generall insurrections and future Rebellions, they would be in a capacitie to defend themselves and offend their adversaries, without leaving their families and estates in that eminent danger to be destroyed, as formerly, which I having spoken at large unto in my aformentioned Book, shall refer the reader to it.

And as it would thus eminently farther their safety both in Peace and War, so would it increase their wealth and riches, by the increase of Trade and Commerce among themselves, which hetherto could not be obtained; for the Irish (or rather the degenerate English) having most of the chief places of trade and commerce in their hands, would not admit any English Protestant to trade amongst them, except some poor handy crafts or mean people, who they served their turns upon: but ingrossed the whole forrein trade into their own hands, which did not onely keep the English poor and out of money, but prevented their acquaintance and correspondencies beyond seas, whereby the reputation of the English Protestant people and government in Ireland, were lost in forrain parts; for who could judge that the interest of a people were any thing considerable, in a place where no persons of qualitie were heard of among the chief Merchants for forrein trade.

And on the other hand, the Irish people and interest had manifold advantages, for hereby they had

in their poſſeſſion moſt of the chief places of ſtrength and trade in the Nation, the influence whereof did much animate the Country people to rebell. Then thereby they had the chief Storehouſes & Treaſuries at their diſpoſe, for the country mans wealthies in Corn and Cattle, the money and commodities (as arms, ammunition and cloaths, *&c.*) are chiefly in the hands of the citizens and Merchants. Then hereby they had the advantage of breeding their children beyond ſeas, and under the pretence of being Merchants, or learning forrein languages, bred them oftentimes Prieſts and Jeſuits, ſometimes Souldiers, by whoſe abilities and reputation at their return, the whol people were rivetted and ſettled in their Popiſh principles, and more and more alienated from, and prejudiced againſt the Engliſh manners and Religion; beſides by this advantage of their forrein acquaintance and trade, they have been chiefly enabled to furniſh themſelves in times of Rebellion with all neceſſary ſupplies for War; with many other advantages, too tedious to mention, which the Plantation propoſed will naturally deprive them of, and put the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of them; that whereas formerly the wealth of the Engliſh was inconſiderable in compariſon to the Iriſh, & that little they had generally conſiſting of intereſts in lands and Stock thereupon, which (as before is minded) were wholly at the diſpoſe of the Iriſh, that they even cut the Engliſh mens throats with their own weopons, and maintained War againſt them out of their own purſes: they would now become the poſſeſſors of of conſiderable eſtates in ſecurity, nay of conſider-

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able eſtates of forreiners, upon credit in trade, whereby, though Religion and affection might incline them to the Iriſh, yet intereſt and the ſafety of their eſtates diſpoſed in trading among the Engliſh, would engage them to the Engliſh.

Then it would be a means to preſerve the Engliſh from degenerating and learning the Iriſh cuſtoms and manners, which hath been not the leaſt but indeed the greateſt means, whereby the intereſt of England in Ireland hath been often reduced to ſo low an ebb, after ſuch notable ſucceſſes and great opportunities they have had in Ireland from time to time; for though the Engliſh have oftentimes ſown the ſeed of people and wealth in Ireland: yet the Iriſh have always reaped the crop, for the degenerate Engliſh in Ireland have been the moſt conſiderable enemies that England have had to deal withall in Ireland, ſince the time of Edward the Second, except the Rebellion of *Tyrone* with the Ulſter Iriſh, and in the late bloudy Rebellion the old Iriſh under the command of *Owen Roe ô Neal*, were the moſt inconſiderable enemie. So that it is evident, it is with intereſts and common principles among men, as it is with fiſhes in the ſea, the greater will devour the leſſer, nay even the worſe the better, if they mix; according to the Dutch maxim concerning their ſtrangers, Let the father be of what nation he will, the ſon will be a Dutchman. Which great evil will alſo be evidently prevented by this intire Plantation propoſed: And on the other hand be a probable means to regain many of thoſe perſons thus loſt, by becoming tenants or ſervants among the Engliſh,

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for the ſame reaſon will hold in all points, except this one, that poor frail mankind is more ſubject by example and companie, to degenerate and grow worſe, than to reform and grow better.

*Obj.* Then you do admit of ſome Iriſh to live amongſt the Engliſh.

*Anſ.* The fewer the better, untill the Plantation be better ſettled. But the queſtion doth not ly on that hand of the Iriſh living among the Engliſh, but of the Engliſh living among the Iriſh; for do but preſerve the Engliſh Plantation ſo intire and unmixt, that the body of the charge bearing people be Engliſh Proteſtants under the ſhelter and influence of Engliſh Landlords, Magiſtrates, and godly able Miniſters, I do not judge that a ſmall number of Iriſh perſons, living amongſt them in the capacities of under tenants and ſervants, can do them much harm: And therefore the thing chiefly argued againſt, is to be underſtood the Engliſh living promiſcuouſly diſperſed amongſt the Iriſh.

Then it would be much in order to the promulgation of the Goſpel in Ireland.

Firſt, Among the Engliſh by being a great encouragement to godly painful Miniſters to come over to preach it, when they might live in ſafety, and have conſiderable numbers of people to attend their publick meetings; whereas formerly (except in ſome few great towns, and a very few other places) ye ſhould have the Pariſh uſually conſiſt of the Vicar, Clerk and Sexton, and hardly three more within three Miles, except Iriſh Papiſts, which would hardly ever be convinced, the catholick Church

conſiſted of ſuch ſmall Pariſhes.

And then farther, if the State ſhould not provide competent maintainance for Miniſters, the people thus living together would be able of themſelves to maintain a Miniſter (or at leaſt to add to his maintainance) within a competent circuit, which formerly they have not been able to do, there being not in the greateſt part of the Nation ten Proteſtants living within five Miles compaſs, able to contribute thereto: from which cauſe the number of painful godly Miniſters in Ireland hath been very ſmall, the uſual publick maintainance being either impropriated, or diſpoſed of in pluralities to ſome idle droniſh favorite of the times, that gave ſome ſmall pittance of it to an ignorant Curate, that better knew how to rail than argue againſt Poperie, and by whoſe ignorance and ſcandalous life thoſe few of the Proteſtant Religion in his Pariſh were debauched, and the Popiſh party hardened and confirmed.

And as it might thus farther the propagation of the Proteſtant Religion amongſt themſelves, and increaſe pietie among the profeſſors thereof: ſo would it be the moſt probable means to convince and gain upon the Papiſts, for perſons contrary minded, are uſually more convinced of their errors by the godly converſation and holy walking of the preachers and profeſſors of truth, than by their doctrine; It being not ſo eaſie for them to ſhut their eys from ſeeing the one, as to ſtop their ears againſt hearing the other.

And then again the Papiſts being hereby contracted into a leſſer room, the State might with more

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eaſe and leſs charge maintain an itinerary Miniſtry, to preach the Goſpel to them.

And farther, the moſt evident and chief cauſes of preventing the converſion of the Iriſh, would be hereby effectually removed, (*viz.*) Their viſible grounds of hope within a few years to recover their intereſt and ſtrength again; for they conſider, That notwithſtanding the Engliſh have now conquered them, and by the preſent power of an Army keeps them under: yet in all probabilitie within a few years the preſent Army (except ſome ſmall part of it) muſt neceſſarily be disbanded, as a burthen unable to be born: and thoſe that ſtand being quartered or garriſoned generally among themſelves, and being altogether free from danger and duty, will effeminate, and many of them by marrying with their women, degenerate: So that in an ordinary way the Engliſh influence over them by the Army would ſoon ſignifie little. And if that were once removed all the other intereſt England hath in Ireland by a promiſcuous planting, will rather be an object of their ſcorn and pitie, than of their fear and reſpect. And if ſo, it is to me a groundleſs thing to expect any conſiderable converſion of Iriſh, while they have not onely the awing influence of their Prieſts, Landlords and chief perſons of their Septs to discourage them: but alſo ſuch of them as might encline to conform unto the Proteſtant Religon, or at leaſt to hear the Proteſtant Miniſters preach, do conſider that they ſhall be ſo far from being gainers thereby, as to their future ſecurity and comfort, that they will thereby evidently expoſe themſelves to the future discoun-

tenance, ſcorn and injuries of their Popiſh neighbors, and lay themſelves open to all thoſe eminent dangers and intollerable ſufferings from the Iriſh Papiſts, the Engliſh are liable to; whereas on the contrary, when they ſhall obſerve that England hath not onely a powerful intereſt over them at preſent, but is alſo likely to increaſe and grow dayly more and more conſiderable, and their own wearing out: then all the forementioned discouragements and obſtructions are removed from before them, and all the weight thereof laid in the oppoſite ſcale.

So that I would propoſe as neceſſary by way of preparation, in order to the Iriſh converſion to the Proteſtant Religion,

Firſt, To haſten the ſettlement of them as to their outward eſtates, (*viz.*) The determination of their Qualifications and Claims, and ſettling upon them that part of their eſtates which ſhall thereby fall due unto them, that they may thereby be in a way of future ſettlement and ſubſiſtance, or at leaſt at an iſſue as to what they ſhall truſt unto; for while matters of that weight are at uncertainties with a people, they have little leaſure & leſs diſpoſition to be heeding Religion, much leſs changing a Religion for which they think they have ſuffered, for a Religion by which they judge they have ſuffered; and while the Majeſtrate is preaching condemnation to their outward eſtates, they will have little delight to be attending to the Miniſters preaching ſalvation to their inward eſtates.

Secondly, And chiefly to provide in this ſettlement, That they may diſcern all hopes of the recove-

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ry of their former intereſt, (either National or perſonal) to be removed, untill then I (ſhould rejoice to ſee it, but) have little ground to believe any conſiderable converſion will be effected upon them.

Then the Plantation propoſed would fully provide againſt another conſiderable obſtruction of an increaſing Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, *viz.* The want of Engliſh women to ſupply the men with wives, whereby abundance of Engliſhmen are inticed to marry Iriſh women, from whence many of them are degenerated and loſt, or however their children are brought up after the Iriſh manner, among their Iriſh kindred; which matter, though it may ſeem at firſt view to be a light thing, yet if it be well conſidered hath much of weight in it, as to the ſecuring and increaſing the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland.

And Thirdly, as it would afford theſe benefits with many other, to the Nation of England, and the Engliſh people living in Ireland: So it would be in many things beneficial to the Iriſh themſelves, who though they have had many opportunities of doing the Engliſh harm, yet in the iſſue it hath proved little to their own good; but on the contrary hath uſhered in upon them many great & grievous ſufferings, tending to the deſtruction of many thouſands of their lives, & ruinating their eſtates & families, which the way propoſed would evidently provide againſt.

As Firſt, it would addict them to ſtudie a peaceable demeanor under, and readie compliance with the Engliſh Government over them; for nothing keeps a people more from thoughts of ſettlement

and ſubmiſſion to their preſent condition, than that which feeds their expectation with dayly hopes of change and opportunities to recover themſelves; which doubtleſs the former way of Englands planting Ireland hath much done, for while they diſcerned that what England gained over them by War, would in a few years be worn out by peace, there was little reaſon to expect their acquieſcence in an eſtate of ſubordination to them: but remove away the grounds of ſuch hopes, and all indeavors to obtain it attended with ſuch eminent hazards, would naturally ceaſe; for men do not uſually adventure great matters through eminent hazards, but when there is ſome probable grounds for them to expect proportionable gain.

Secondly, As it would thus prepare them for peace, and thereby preſerve them from the ſad calamities of future Wars: ſo it would preſerve them from many caſual injuries the moſt harmleſs and peaceable people are dayly liable unto, through the misdemeanors of other evil diſpoſed and disordered perſons, as ſometimes the kinred of the perſon or perſons, that are Tories, and other times the Barony or neighborhood, where the miſchief is done, are compelled to make reparation, whereby it often falls out that the innocent ſuffers for the nocent both in libertie and eſtate, to their utter ruine, which promiſcuous cohabitation of the Engliſh among them is clearly the cauſe of. For in thoſe Counties where no Engliſh are reſident, theſe heavie burthens are not felt by the Iriſh: So that our diſtinct Plantations of Engliſh and Iriſh pleaded for, would redreſs to the

the Iriſh thoſe intollerable grievances; which if I were concerned herein with them, I ſhould more value the freedom from, than all the other burthens they bear; beſides the dayly hard uſage both by word and deed, they are liable to meet withall from their Engliſh neighbors, in making complaints of, and misrepreſenting things againſt them, to the petty Governors of ſmall Garriſons among them, before ſome of whom oftentimes it's evidence enough againſt an Iriſhman to have an Engliſhman complain of him, whereby the lives of the people are oftentimes made very uncomfortable. Beſides hereby they would enjoy the freedom and benefit of the Law of England, and have the adminiſtration thereof paſs through their own hands (as formerly,) as to all Countie, Baronie, and Pariſh Officers, which at preſent they are not allowed; and indeed cannot rationally or ſafely be, if this promiſcuous way of living with Engliſh be continued; for no unbiaſſed man among themſelves can judge it would be rational for the ſupreme authority of England to intruſt the lives, liberties and eſtates of the people of England in Ireland, in the hands of Iriſh Iuſtices and Iurors, who have ſo lately in letters of bloud declared their malice againſt the whole.

But this way of planting Ireland propoſed, removeth all the grounds of denying them the benefit of the Law of England, (to be tried by Twelve men of their neighborhood, in differences not betwixt them and the Engliſh, (which would ſeldom then be) but betwixt one another) and affords as much reaſon for the admitting of Iriſh Iuſtices, Iriſh Iurors, and o-

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ther Civil Officers in the Iriſh Counties, as of enjoyning Engliſh in the Engliſh Counties; except in ſuch caſes where the ſuit depends betwixt Engliſh and Iriſh, and then to be onely triable before the Iudges in their circuits, having ſpecial Iuries inpaneled of (at leaſt the major part) Engliſh. To conclude, I do not know one benefit the Engliſh will enjoy in Ireland as a free people, but what the Iriſh might partake of with them, without the leaſt inconvenience to the Engliſh Nation, by this way of plantation; except ſome few general things more peculiar to the one as the conqueror, and leſs proper to the other as the conquered, which would be of a national and general nature, and little diſcerned or felt by particular perſons.

*Obj.* If the Iriſh would be ſo great gainers by this way of Plantation, what makes them ſo averſe unto it?

*Anſ.* All the benefits before mentioned, if you obſerve them, do reſpect the Iriſh as conſidered to have no other buſineſs nor deſign, but to live a peaceable, ſafe, and comfortable life, under the Engliſh Government over them; and ſo far as that is in the hearts of any of them, they cannot but cloſe with the things beforementioned: but the reaſon of their diſſatisfaction is, it lays the ax to the root of all their future hopes, as to the recovery of their loſt intereſt, as a Nation that doth not love to be undermoſt, if they knew how to be uppermoſt. And from that fountain muſt flow the ſtreams of their diſlike of this thing.

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And Fourthly, Having thus far ſpoken to the benefits that will ariſe hereby to all parties concerned in Irelands good Settlement: I ſhall now proceed to ſpeak to the thing it ſelf, and Firſt, to the manner in the practick thereof.

Firſt, It is propoſed that (in regard a more perfect and abſolute Engliſh Plantation would be attended with very great difficulties) the Plantation of Ireland may conſiſt of three ſorts of People.

Firſt, A pure Engliſh Plantation to conſiſt of all Engliſh Proteſtants, or Forreiners of the ſame Religion, (as Dutch and French, &c.) without any mixture at all of Iriſh, ſo much as tenants or ſervants; ſave ſuch as in the judgement of two Iuſtices of the Peace and one godly Miniſter, (living in the ſaid Engliſh Plantation) ſhould judge were really converted to the Proteſtant Religion, and withall truly affected to the Engliſh People and Government.

Secondly, On the other hand, as pure an Iriſh Plantation, conſiſting of the body of the people of qualitie of the Popiſh Religion, according to the late Rules and Inſtructions given out for the Transplantation.

Thirdly, The reſt of the Nation not planted with Scots, to conſiſt of a mixt Plantation of Engliſh Landlords and Maſters, with a permiſſion of Iriſh tenants and ſervants, being onely ſuch as are without the Rule of Transplantation.

And for the farther demonſtrating the anſwerableneſs of theſe three Plantations, thus qualified, to the good ends before propoſed, we ſhall Firſt ſpeak to the places judged moſt convenient for each of them to be in.

1. The place of the intire Irish Plantation being already determined on the West side of the River *Shawen*, and so far proceeded in by the rules of Transplantation, as to the settlement of a considerable part of the Irish there, I shall forbear to speak to that.

2. The place of the intire English Plantation to be that scope of land compassed by the *Boyn* and *Barrow*; which will be the easilier agreed unto, by considering the great advantage that will be both to the publick and to particular persons concerned therein.

First, As to the publick advantage, it will be in a place where they may at the least charge protect them, where by the advantages of the sea on the one side, with the Rivers *Barrow* and *Boyn* with other natural secure boundaries on the other side, they may with small Parties and Frontier Garrisons, secure themselves from the Irish incursions with very much ease.

Secondly, Withall it will be hereby so contrived, that the very situation thereof would have the most influence to aw and suppress the risings of the Irish in every part of the Nation, either by the Train bands of the Plantation, or otherwise for the convenient quartering of an Army or smaller Parties, to preserve the Peace or suppress Rebellions in any of the other parts, this compass of ground bearing much an equal proportion to all the extreme parts of the Nation.

Thirdly, There it will lie most contiguous to England, and from thence might with most ease receive succor in case of future straits, it coasting near

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an hundred miles along the Engliſh ſea, from the mouth of the *Boyn* at *Tredagh*, to the mouth of the *Barrow* at *Duncannon*.

Fourthly, There it will lie moſt under the wing of protection and ey of care from the Seat of the chief Government, whereby there will be many mutual benefits and comforts the one may receive from the other, which will not be at a greater diſtance.

Fifthly, It will be there leaſt prejudicial to the publick Revenue, for the greateſt part of this Countrie, as the Countie of *Wicklo*, and a great part of *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Wexford* and *Carlo*, being already waſte, and the Iriſh generally removed: So that the queſtion doth not lie whether the Iriſh ſhall be removed out of thoſe Counties, but whether they ſhall be brought in to plant them.

Sixthly, This place will moſt anſwer Publick ſafety, it containing the greateſt Faſtneſs of any habitable Country in Ireland, in which hath hetherto inhabited three or four of the moſt pernicious Rebellious Septs of the Nation, who by reaſon of their ſituation have had more advantages to injure the Engliſh intereſt both by ſea and land, than double their number have had in more remote parts from England and Dublin.

Seventhly, The choice of our anceſtors may add ſome reputation to this place, it being the ſame ſcope of land they choſe for the antient Engliſh Pale, and had their other endeavors (as to the method of their proceeding in the practice of the work) been equally anſwerable to the place, this good work had not been

now to do over again; and their ſucceſleſneſs in their endeavors, doth rather call for a more effectual care in the better ordering of it now, than plead againſt the thing; for we may conclude, if former ages had not diſcerned the neceſſitie thereof, they would never attempted it, for doubtleſs at that time it was a work of much more difficulty and hazard than now it is.

And as it thus propoſeth the greateſt advantages to the State of any other place in Ireland: So it affords proportionable incouragement to the Engliſh planters upon the place.

Firſt, As to its nearneſs to England, it coaſting all along the Engliſh coaſt from *Leverpool* near to *Barſtable*: ſo that their transportation by ſea would be very ſhort, from any part of the Weſt of England to ſome part or other thereof.

Secondly, As their voyage by ſea would be ſhort, ſo their travelling by land in Ireland would not be long, the extream parts of this Plantation not lying above an ordinary days journy from the ſea, that they might with much ſafety and ſmall charge go or ſend to and fro into England about their occaſions.

Thirdly, This place propoſeth moſt ſecuritie in caſe of future troubles, it being near England, as before, and ſurrounded within five miles by the ſea and the two Rivers before mentioned; which Rivers in winter are in very few places paſſable, and in ſummer the foords there are either ſoon ſpoiled or guarded, and that little ſpace betwixt the heads of the two Rivers is a continued faſtneſs, through which there is no paſſage, but through ſuch paſſes as are eaſily ſecured

red with little charge. And then it lieth at an equal and considerable distance from *Connaught*, that the Irish from thence cannot do them the least harm, without being a very considerable Army more than all the strength of England in Ireland can deal withall; and then at the worst they could not get betwixt them and home to prevent their safe retreat to the English Garrisons, as *Dublin*, *Tredagh*, *Wexford*, and *Ross*, considerable sea Port-towns; besides several considerable in-land walled towns and garrisons lying upon the Frontiers: So that the English Plantation within this circuit would have a threefold Gard.

First, The River *Shanon* bounding in the intire Irish Plantation, with all the Castles and gards therupon.

Secondly, The people of the mixt Plantation lying between them and the Irish, through whom they must pass before they could harm them.

Thirdly, The Rivers, with all the Castles, Towns, and Garrisons lying upon the Line of the English Plantation.

Fourthly. As it thus affords visible and eminent security from incursions of the Irish: so it proposes visible preservation from the common accidents of War in the time of War, as Free-quarter, Plunder, *&c*; for as long as England hath an Army able to keep the field, this Country will not be the seat of War; it lying at the neareſt betwixt twentie and thirty miles from the River *Shanon*, which is the bounds of the intire Irish Plantation, and all the Country betwixt, well inhabited with the mixt

Plantation of Irish and English: So that if the English should not be able to make *Connaught* the seat of War, yet it would go very hard with them before the Irish should overrun, and drive them out of the middle Country; That as the Eastern association in the Wars of England felt little of the misery thereof, by maintaining of a Frontier force to preserve themselves: so doubtless, in an ordinary way, this Plantation thus situated and bounded, would afford equal and much more security in the future Wars in Ireland, who probably would rather be gainers than losers thereby; for Wars do usually destroy the Countries where they are, and enrich such as are next unto them.

Fifthly, As to benefit, it lyeth most convenient for commerce with England, and also for buying in, or putting of their corn or cattle *&c.* That it hath (for the greatest part of it) those advantages in Ireland, that the next adjacent Countries to London have in England, having not onely the Citie of Dublin almost in the middle of it, but several other considerable sea-Ports and Mercat-Towns to trade in; and withall it lyeth convenient to drive a trade either by sea or land, with any other part of Ireland, it lying in the heart and middle, as to the length thereof.

Sixthly, The land therein is generally very good, *Dublin*, *Meath*, and *Kildare*, being the best Counties for land in Ireland, and best improved and accommodated, and that part of the rest which is habitable, is not much inferior to them. So that as to these, and indeed what else could be mentioned, as to the encouragement of an English Plantation in Ireland

land, both as to publick and particular advantages, this place affords it. That for the place of the intire English Plantation, doubtless this circuit of ground proposed doth answer most the publick good aimed at, and affords most encouragement to the undertakers of any other.

And if it should be judged expedient upon the proof and prosperity of this Plantation, to enlarge the bounds thereof, (as doubtless there could be nothing objected against it at present, but the difficultie of grasping at so much at once before an experiment be made) the next place would be the Countie of *Waterford*, which doth afford all the aforementioned conveniencies and encouragements, both to the publick and the undertakers; except what the Citie Dublin with the residence of the Government in it doth add; and (except Dublin) the most considerable and well accommodated Citie for trade and commerce both inward and outward, is the Citie of Waterford. Besides at the other end of the Countie, the Port of *Youghal*, with *Clonmel*, *Carrik*, and *Caperqueen*, considerable in-land Towns, the whole Countie being surrounded with the sea on one side, and the Rivers of *Blackwater* and *Shure* on the other; except a space of some five miles of unpassable wild mountain, which by a Garrison in the midway might be secured. And besides these, there are some other places in the Province of Ulster that might be convenient.

But if the benefit of this good work were once experimented, as before, addition might be made from time to time as the authoritie shall see cause.

And having thus far spoke as to the place of the

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intire English and intire Irish Plantation, the reader may easily discern where the mixt Plantation is to be: all the rest of Ireland (not planted with Scots) being left for it.

And lastly, having thus spoke to the benefit and place of this English Plantation: I shall now speak to the practicableness of it, unto which must be premised, That there was never any good work (much less if a great work) undertaken and brought to pass without difficulties, and oftimes great dangers and hardships; yet if the benefit thereof, when obtained, were proportionable, rational and publick minded men would attempt it: And therefore I shall proceed to lay down the difficulties and probable sufferings that may attend this work, both as to the publick and particular persons interest, and give you my opinion wherein they will be ballanced by a proportionable advantage.

First, As to the publick, the great Objection and onely I have met with, not before answered, against this work, is the lessening the publick Revenue, especially at this time when the occasions of the Commonwealth for mony are so great.

*Ans.* If that were really the case that the whole Revenues of that circuit would be for the present lost, yet when so proportionable an advantage would be gained thereby, it may be worth their encountring with; for though the poor husbandman may be at great streights for mony to pay his rent, and for bread to give his familie, yet will he not withhold his seed but will cast that into the ground, (unless he intend

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to throw the plow under the hedge, and inſtead of a reaper in his own fields, become a gleaner in another mans) the repuation of which crop may afford him more credit, in order to his preſent relief, than the ſeed he parted with would have ſupplied; which caſe I judge paralel to the caſe in queſtion, and our late few years experience will afford evidence that the neglect of bringing Ireland into a way of improvement, and the expending altogether upon the main Stock, hath reduced it to ſo low an ebb, that the preſent Tax is more groaned under than double the Sum would have been a few years ſince. And how unlikely it is to ſupport long what it now bears, is evident to them rhat pay it, if not to them that receive it, if ſome means be not uſed to improve the ſtate of it. And what other means can be propoſed to improve the ſtate of Ireland, beſides the encreaſe of people and wealth, I cannot diſcern. And how that can be effected and preſerved from the ſpoil of the Iriſh, when they ſhall diſcern their opportunitie again to ſeiz it, and make uſe of it againſt the Engliſh intereſt, I cannot concieve, but by the way propoſed. And therefore though it may for the preſent ſomewhat abate the Contribution, yet I judge the great and neceſſary advantages that will be gained thereby, will repay it and that in a ſhort time; but I do not judge the abatement will be conſiderable for theſe Reaſons.

Firſt, A great part of the Country at preſent is totally waſte, as to any perſons that this Plantation will remove to make way for it, as the Countie of *Wickl'o*, and the greateſt part of *Wexford* and *Carlo*,

with a conſiderable part of the Counties of *Dublin* and *Kildare*, and much of that which is planted in thoſe Counties are Iriſh people, brought in by the Proprietors out of other planted Countries where they lived, to the weakening of them; ſo that what the State gains on one hand they loſe on the other, by thoſe places being planted, and the whole Contribution ariſing at preſent out of theſe Countries, (except Dublin and Meath) is very inconſiderable, and it is not likely one half of it will at all be abated.

Secondly, What perſons or eſtates of Iriſh ſhould be hereby removed, would not be removed out of Ireland, but upon other waſte lands, which at preſent affords no publick charge, and within one year would enable the place they remove into, to bear the charge abated upon the place they remove from: So that what the State would hereby loſe in one place, they would gain in another.

Thirdly, Thoſe places thus removed from, would not be much waſted, for a very conſiderable part of it alreadie is in the poſſeſſion and occupation of Engliſh Proteſtants, and a great part of that which is now planted with Iriſh may be by the induſtry of the Proprietors planted with Engliſh in one years time, if their own negligence do not prevent the ſame.

Fourthly, This Engliſh Plantation would be ſo far from leſſening the publick Revenue, that within a few years it will evidently much improve it; for the Iriſh people removed from hence would much improve thoſe waſte places in Ireland more remote, which the Engliſh would never adventure to do, nor

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the Iriſh capable to perform without this means; for the moſt knowing perſons of the preſent State of Ireland, as to people, do not judge that all the Iriſh now in Ireland is ſufficient to plant near one half of the land, the other half muſt conſequently then lie waſte for many years, and a great part of it for ſome ages.

And as it will thus very inconſiderably (if at all) diminiſh the preſent Revenue: ſo it evidently makes way for the ſpeedy leſſening the preſent charge, by giving way for the diſbanding a conſiderable part of the Army, which otherwiſe muſt neceſſarily be maintained to preſerve the peace, and ſecure the poor Engliſh ſcattered up and down among the Iriſh, as is more fully before demonſtrated.

*Obj.* But will it not much prejudice ſeveral particular perſons, that have been all along faithful to the Engliſh intereſt, and whoſe preſent livelihoods depend upon their preſent rents therein?

*Anſ.* This is indeed the greateſt ſtreight, and moſt difficult to provide againſt: yet I cannot diſcern it ſhould be ſo hard as ſome concerned do ſeem to make it. For,

Firſt, A great part of ſuch perſons land doth lie at preſent waſte, their buildings and other improvements being deſtroyed by the Rebellion, and the Iriſh not inclining to take land of the Engliſh, if they can have it of an Iriſh man; and many of the Engliſh Proprietors themſelves not able to rebuild or improve their own eſtates: ſo that a great part of ſuch perſons eſtates are likely to continue waſte, unleſs they ſhould lett them at very inconſiderable rents,

and to ſuch tenants that if neceſſity did not conſtrain, a good huſband would rather chuſe to let his land lie waſte, than plant it by them. And yet thoſe tenants muſt be drawn off on other lands, to the damage of other perſons, and leſſening the publick Revenues in other places.

Secondly, The ſufferings of ſuch perſons may be much provided againſt by eaſe in publick Taxes: For it is propoſed as neceſſary in order to the nouriſhing this Engliſh Plantation, That it ſhould be endowed with ſome peculiar priviledges that the reſt of the Nation ſhould not enjoy, and eſpecially a difference in point of publick Taxes, That whatſoever the proportion *per* Acre or *per* pound rent and ſtock ſhould be upon the reſt of Ireland, the Contribution of this Plantation ſhould not exceed one moyety thereof, (the reaſon for which I ſhall afterwards ſpeak to) which would be a conſiderable encouragement to Engliſh Proprietors to plant their lands with Engliſh.

Thirdly, Though for the preſent ſome few particular perſons might be ſomewhat abated in their yearly rents, yet the viſible improvement of their eſtates, above what they ever were like to be without this Plantation, would be a ſufficient recompence. For what good huſband is there in Ireland but would ſet his lands at an eaſie rent, for a conſiderable term of years in leaſe, if he might thereby engage ſuch improvements upon it, as would double, may it's like trible the value thereof at the end of ſuch a term. By which means that famous improver of the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, the late Earl of *Cork*

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did exceedingly increaſe his eſtate, to the advantage of his poſteritie; which this Plantation will proportionably produce to every particular eſtate within the ſame, if ingenuity and induſtry be not wanting in the Proprietors; for at this time the generality of the land in this circuit, except ſome in the Countie of Dublin near the Citie, and ſome other few ſpecial Seats, would hardly ſell for above ſix or ſeven years purchaſe at moſt; I knowing of ſome that have been bought at five years purchaſe, as good land, and lying as well as any land in this Plantation lying ten Miles from Dublin.

Whereas this Plantation (in an ordinary way) within one twentie years would raiſe the value of eſtates therein, to three times the preſent worth in purchaſe. And ſo far as any Engliſhman doth eſteem a comfortable aboad in Ireland, (attended with the bleſſings of peace, ſafety, and good neighborhood, and above all, the opportunities of the means of grace) he would value an eſtate within this Plantation to be near double the value of one out of it in Ireland; That for my own part I ſhould eſteem of an eſtate within many places of this Plantation thus ſettled, equal to moſt places in England; whereas according to the former promiſcuous planting of Ireland, there is no rationl Engliſhman but would eſteem of every Pound eſtate he hath in England, worth double the ſame in Ireland, whileſt it is attended with all the hazards and evils beforementioned.

And I would appeal to any rational mans judgement, whether if the Engliſh Proprietors planting Ireland upon the former account, had been at the

pains and charge of planting their lands thus intirely with Engliſh tenants, though they had for one ſeven years after abated the one half of the preſent rent, they would not have been gainers thereby, if they had caſt up their accounts at the later end of the year 1642. Beſides the guilt they accidentally brought upon themſelves of the bloud of ſo many thouſands of Engliſh people, who they for their profits ſake without a due care of their ſafety had brought upon their lands. Added to this, the viſible ſecurity that would hereby follow to their poſterities, to preſerve them from degenerating. (by which evil the poſterity of many a worthy Engliſhman, who hath faithfully ſerved the Engliſh Intereſt in Ireland againſt the Iriſh Rebels, hath had their poſterity the next Rebellion after their death, ſequeſtered and ſtript of what eſtates were beſtowed upon them by the Crown of England, or otherwiſe obtained by their care and induſtry there, for their good ſervice in Ireland.)

I do conclude from the whole, That particular perſons ſtated within the Plantation, will not be ſufferers but gainers thereby.

*Obj.* Though this Plantation might, when obtained, be beneficial both to the publick and particular perſons: yet the difficulties in gaining Engliſh tenants in any reaſonable time, ſpeaks much againſt it.

*Anſ.* Firſt, It is not likely the gaining over Engliſh would be ſo difficult, if we do but conſider what a number of Engliſh perſons have been brought over into Ireland in former times, even enough to have planted two parts of three of Ireland, and have had

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it all Engliſh at this day, if care had been taken, as before, to prevent their degenerating on one hand, and their deſtruction both perſons and eſtates on the other, as woful experience proveth; much more may it be expected when their coming over is likely to be attended with ſuch great encouragements and advantage, and their lives and eſtates under ſuch viſible ſecurity, as in this Plantation is provided.

Secondly, If we do but conſider what the main Obſtructions and discouragements are, that at preſent detains the Engliſh from coming over, you will find they will be hereby removed, as their want of ſecurity both as to perſons and eſtates, as their being liable to the extremity of Taxations, equal with the Natives there in capacitie to enjoy an Engliſh neighborhood, and the benefits of a Goſpel Miniſtry. *&c.*

Thirdly, The condition of England being very full of people and wealth, more by far than the land of that Nation can employ, whereby lands are held at an exceſſive dear rate, that the poor Farmer for all his hard labor can hardly obtain a mean livelihood, much leſs increaſe his ſmall Stock; whereas in Ireland they may hereby live equally ſafe and comfortable as in England, and make near double the advantage of their labors: For in Ireland they may have the ſame for three or four ſhillings an Acre at a long leaſe or for lives, that in England they pay ten ſhillings, and in ſome places much more *per* Acre, from year to year and withall have as good a Mercat and rate for their commodities.

*Obj.* If ſuch ſpecial priviledges and exemptions from

from the extremitie of publick Taxes, as beforemen-tioned might be obtained, it would both recompence the Proprietor, and encourage the planter: But what reaſon can you ſhew to juſtifie the making ſuch a diſtinction between perſons in the ſame Nation? would it not relliſh of inequalitie and oppreſſion to the reſt of the people in the other part of the land?

*Anſ.* There are many publick and weighty Reaſons for it. As,

Firſt, It would be no damage to the people in other parts of Ireland, for they would be ſo far from bearing more hereby, that their burthens would be much leſs; for they would hereby have the benefit of all the people removed, to help to improve the other parts of Ireland, and to bear a ſhare of the charge layd upon them.

Secondly, They will have the addition of all the eſtates hereby brought out of England, to take off another conſiderable ſhare of the whole ſum layd upon the Nation, which otherwiſe thoſe there before ſhould have born without their help: So that although the Engliſh do not bear an equal ſhare with the Iriſh, yet the Iriſh bear ſo much leſs ſhare, by how much the Engliſh bear of the whole from them.

Then farther, the reſt of Ireland will be ſo far from inequalitie hereby, that there would be much inequalitie on the other hand, if this proviſion ſhould not be made. For it is evident, That thoſe perſons that plant in Ireland with Iriſh tenants and ſervants, as to the preſent profit, ſhall make a greater benefit of their lands; for one Acre of land ſhall be tilled by Iriſh ſervants after the Iriſh way of Huſbandry, at

near

near half the charge, the ſame can be done by the Engliſh after the Engliſh way; the charge of Iriſh ſervants wages and diet being very ſmall, and their Husbandry implements very mean and ſlight: So that the Iriſh Husbandmen ſhall be able to under-ſell the Engliſh at the Mercat, ſo much that they would in a few years weary them and begger them, if the Engliſh ſhould have no favor in the publick Tax; from which cauſe all Engliſhmen that have hetherto planted in Ireland, and ſubſiſted by their induſtry, have been neceſſitated to make uſe of Iriſh ſervants, and wholly to conform themſevles to the Iriſh way of Husbandry, without which they could not ſubſiſt. So that I look at a difference in point of publick Tax, neceſſary to the preſerving an Engliſh Plantation in Ireland.

*Quer.* What other priviledges and immunities do you judge neceſſary towards their encouragement?

*Anſ.* There are ſome priviledges preparatory or, in order to their more eaſy and cheap transportation.

Firſt, That they ſhould paſs Cuſtom, Excize, and Toll free, with all ſorts of goods for their own particular uſe, through all Ports, Corporations, and priviledged places in England and Ireland, through which they ſhould have occaſion to paſs: And that all Magiſtrates and Publick Officers might be enjoyned to afford them all needful fartherance and aſſiſtance of land or water carriage, and at the eaſieſt uſual rates.

Secondly, That after their landing in Ireland they be at leaſt for one year freed from all publick Tax, for any goods or Cattle they bring with them out of England; as alſo for the firſt crop of corn they

reap in Ireland, which they tilled by servants and Cattle brought out of England.

Thirdly, That they be freed from all manner of Military service in Ireland, or out of it, farther than what they shall be voluntaries in, except that of train bands and Auxiliaries among themselves for their own security.

Fourthly, That they should be free from all manner of Free-quarters of Souldiers, or paying Forrage or provision, farther than their half Tax with the rest of the Nation, as aforesaid, and that in cases of publick extremitie, when the Government should be constrained to encrease their charge above the proportion; That then the Publick faith be engaged to satisfie such overplus out of the estates real and personal of the Irish then in Rebellion, and that to have the preheminence of other publick debts.

For the mixt Plantation of English and Irish, as aforesaid, there needs not much to be said to that, for from what is before said, it is easie to discern both the matter and manner of it; for the persons it is to consist of English and such Irish as are not within the Rules of Transplantation into *Connaught*; the place of it to be in all parts of Ireland not planted with Scots, where the intire English and intire Irish Plantations do not extend. Some observations will be nesary as to the Irish that there live.

First, That they be enjoyned within a convenient time limited to speak the English tongue, and for the future to teach their children no Irish.

Secondly, That they do also observe the manners of the English, as to their habit and other civil deportments, wherein the English exceed them.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That they bring up their children under Engliſh Proteſtant Schole-Maſters.

Fourthly, That they do attend the publick preaching of the Proteſtant Miniſters.

Fifthly, That they do abandon all their Iriſh names, as *Teig*, and *Dermot*, *&c.* and do call themſelves by the ſignification of ſuch names in Engliſh: And do for the future name all their children with Engliſh names, eſpecially omitting the (ô) and (m)

Sixthly, That ſo far as their abilitie will afford it, they be injoyned to build their houſes with chimnies as the Engliſh in like capacitie do; and to demean themſelves in their houſes, as to their lodgings, and other deportments accordingly. Some other things that may be here omitted of this kind, may be needful to be done in order to their Reformation; by which means through the bleſſing of the Lord upon it, the whole mixt Plantation (as beforeſaid) might be made Engliſh in a few years. And thereby the extent of the Iriſh intereſt in Ireland, be reduced to leſs than one fourth part of the Nation; for it may be hoped that the good condition of the Iriſh thus living among the Engliſh after ſome ſhort experience will invite a great many of the middle and poorer ſort of people, to be coming to them to partake with them of the ſame things that may at firſt be ſhie of it.

For the intire Iriſh Plantation, the place and bounds of it, with the qualifications of the perſons are already declared ſo far, that it needs not be ſpoken to.

I ſhall onely offer ſome few things, as to the ordering thereof, to the greater publick advantage, in order to future ſafety and peace, and withall as to the juſtice of the proceeding therein.

In order thereto, First, consider that the people transplanted into *Connaught*, are a disjointed people, both as to their interest & principles, for though they be all equally Papists, yet they are not all equally Irishmen: But a considerable part of them (if not the most considerable) are of antient English extract, who though they be united in the matter of Religion, are of quite different principles as to the matter of civil interest. Possessing all they clame an interest in, in Ireland, by virtue of grants from the Crown of England, or by purchase from such as have had such grants out of the estates of the natives of Ireland; That should the native Irish ever be able to subdue the English, they well know their title to their estates would determin with the English interest and government of Ireland.

And therefore so to mix these two sorts of people in this intire Irish Plantation, as to make them one, I judge is not adviseable; for the more parties or factions an enemie is divided into, the less considerable they must needs be in their opposition: So that the first thing proposed in the manner of the settlement of this Irish Plantation, is, That these two sorts of persons may be kept still divided, by being settled intirely one of them at the one end, and the other at the other end of the Province of *Connaught*. And that some marks of distinction and favor might be extended to the one (*viz.*) to the English-Irish, that should not be to the other, whereby their joynt agreement against the English interest would be much obstructed.

Secondly, As there is a disunion in poynt of principle and interest: so is there a great disproportion in

poynt

poynt of merit, ſeveral of them being transplanted for not being able to make out their conſtãt good affection, notwᵗ-ſtanding they have made out much good affection; which I hope is in the hearts of Authority to requite according to their reſpective deſerts, ſo ſoon as the croud of their buſi-neſs in that work is ſomewhat over: for ſure the ſame juſt and rightous God that calls for puniſhment proportio-nable to their offence on the one hand, doth call for a re-ward proportionable to their deſerts on the other. And leaſt their good intentions be prevented through the ne-glect of the opportunitie, I would propoſe, That ſome ſpe-cial convenient accommodated places might be ſet apart in *Connaught* or *Clare*, for ſuch perſons as near together as may be, or that they might have their ſatisfaction out of thoſe lands excepted from the generality of the Iriſh, by the *Shanon* and ſea-ſide, and next adjacent to the walled Towns in *Connaught*. For if Iriſh muſt there live, it is bet-ter they ſhould be ſuch as would be obliged by favors ex-tended to them for ſome former good affection, than to be left at an uncertainty to be poſſeſt by perſons no way ſo obliged. And to plant thoſe lands with Engliſh, it is not rational, they would be like the bate in the trap, that what ſoever became of the rat, would be ſure to be eaten; Then the obliging of ſuch perſons, as aforeſaid, in thoſe places would anſwer ſeveral weighty and publick ends, in ord r to the future Peace, not convenient to publiſh; beſides the juſtice and duty of the thing, as to a particular reward-ing and requiting ſuch perſons according to the degrees of their ſeveral merits, the neglect whereof would be un-rightous, and provoking in the eys of God, and ſcanda-lous before men; beſides the imprudence of the thing as to publick ſafety for the future: For what perſon would ever the ſecond time hazard himſelf or eſtate to ſerve an intereſt in times of danger, when he ſhall remember, the

unless he be able to come up to the highest qualification of constant good affection, he shall fare never the better for it. So that I conclude, the planting of Ireland with the three sorts of Plantations as aforesaid, and preserving all walled Towns of strength, and sea-Ports (not forgetting those in Ulster) in the hands of the English in Ireland, will be an effectual means to secure the English interest, without which (I shall wish well unto, that) I have little hopes ever to see it effected. There are several other particulars worth insisting upon, in order to Irelands good settlement; but untill this great leak of the Ship be secured, it's in vain to stand stopping little crevices.

*Obj.* You have said something as to the publick advantage, and the advantage of particular persons already there: but what arguments of encouragement can you give to English persons now settled in England, to unsettle themselves to remove for Ireland?

*Ans.* That is a collateral work, which I shall defer until the main *viz.* present and future security to their lives and estates be provided for, either by the way proposed, as before, or by som other way that will answer the same ends; untill then, it would be but an invitation of people to a feast, without letting them know what they should pay for their ordinary: for doubtless the best worldly things may be too dear bought, which I judge estates in Ireland would be (though they were never so easie come by) before security to them, when obtained, be provided for. But if that were once obtained, I judge Ireland doth afford the greatest encouragement to English persons, either for Husbandry, Merchandize or Manufacture, of any other place or way of improvement of estates, two for one.

*Obj.* If that be so, what is the reason then that so many persons have come over thether of late and returned with

*Anſ.* There are many reaſons for it (and yet no diſparagement to the Country) from the former unſettledneſs and ſad condition of the Country, as to War, plague and famin, in the time of which the beſt country affords little encouragement for ſtrangers: but it hath farther proceeded from the unfitneſs and disability of the perſons coming over, for the undertakings they have attempted.

1. Their undertaking of callings and ways of dealing they were never before acquainted with.

2. By being unprovided of ſtock to carry on their undertakings, over-maſtering both their capacities and eſtates, that they who graſp at too much do oftimes loſe all.

3. Their diſpoſition of living above their rank and ability, venturing that little ſubſtance they had to gain the ſhadow of a reputation, and when their ſubſtance was gone their ſhadow vaniſhed.

4. Many coming over thether were perſons of decayed eſtates in England, who though they had lived in former good quality there, were then run behind hand; yet when they have been in Ireland would aim to keep up their former port of living, which when they have not been able to do would lay the blame upon their ſufferings in Ireland; which in all probability had been much worſe if they had ſtaid in England, and might have been much leſs in Ireland than it was, if they could have ſubjected themſelves to their preſent condition, and begun the world anew proportionable to what they had left.

5. Then many came over pretending planting, that intended nothing leſs but aimed at employments and ſalaries, which when they have failed in, they have returned to England with an evil report of Ireland, becauſe it would not afford them a ſubſiſtance without their painful endeavors: many perſons under theſe and ſuch like qualifications have been ſufferers by their coming for Ireland, by

whose misrepresentations of the country it hath very much suffered.

But on the other hand, I dare be the undertaker to produce three others for one of them, who within six years past in Ireland have made the greatest improvement of their estates of any persons of like faculties and estates in the three nations, and with less hazard difficultie, and labor. I do know my self of several that have done more than double their estates within that time, and that by an ordinary way of husbandry or trading, without any salary from the State or other extraordinary help: And therefore the evil reports that have been carried into England of Ireland have been groundless, farther than as before hath been hinted.

But untill I see a more visible security to estates in Ireland, when got, I shall forbear any farther demonstrating the Englishmans encouragement to plant in Ireland, out of garrison or strong walled Town; in which places I do judge there is at present, and dayly will be more and more, very great encouragement to Merchants, and all manner of usual handy-crafts-men and trades-men, and that with very much security.

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